

Limits of the Imaginable in the Early Turkish Novel: Non-Muslim Prostitutes and Their Ottoman Muslim Clients

Hülya Yıldız

In the first Ottoman Turkish novels written during the late nineteenth century, the development of romance between a man and a woman was restricted by certain rules that migrated into fiction from the social sphere. Since unrelated Muslim women and men were hindered from cultivating a romance by various social rules, the problem of representing romance was solved by bringing together an Ottoman Muslim man and a non-Muslim Ottoman woman from the ethnic and religious minority groups in the Ottoman Empire, such as women from Greek, Armenian, or Jewish minorities or from European communities. Therefore, the space of the novel becomes a forum for the ethnic and religious anxieties of the time. Early Turkish novels, in this sense, imaginatively embody the unspoken boundaries between different ethnic and religious groups, allowing the reader to visualize, allegorically, the complicated relationship between the Ottoman Muslim and non-Muslim minorities in the nineteenth century. In these novels, while wives and *cariyes* (domestic female slaves) in Muslim households represent a sanctioned, domesticated form of sexual conduct, prostitutes and courtesans inhabit a danger zone that is associated with pollution, contamination, and disease. This bifurcated sexual code, when thought of within the complexity of late Ottoman history and culture, presents a cultural metaphor—the threat of sexual contact with prostitutes—through which to read the era's ethnic vulnerabilities and sensibilities. A critique of Westernization is mixed with the critique of non-Muslim values and traditions, ultimately producing an exaltation of Ottoman Muslim identity and its value system.

Drawing on the early Ottoman Turkish novels written by elite men, but especially focusing on Ahmed Mithat Efendi's novel, *Henüz On Yedi Yaşında* (Only Seventeen Years Old; 1882), I demonstrate just how this dynamic functioned: that is, how the non-Muslim prostitute, representing

a dangerous female sexuality linked to contamination and the disease of Muslim men, poses a threat to Ottoman unity.¹ In reality, Ottoman men who lived in or traveled to İstanbul often met prostitutes at the brothels located in Beyoğlu, on the European side of İstanbul. The brothels and other public spaces, such as European-style cafes, theaters, restaurants, bars, and beer and music halls of Beyoğlu made it into a center of attraction and anxiety for young Ottoman men, for it provided a zone in which they could meet with non-Muslim and European women and develop a potentially amorous relationship. The authors of the first Turkish novels were drawn to these peculiarly modern İstanbul spaces, and to the non-Muslim and European women who were encountered in them when in search of an erotic narrative dynamic. Without the excursions to Beyoğlu, where "free love" (or love at a price) could be experienced by Ottoman Muslim men, it would be almost impossible to write a love/romance story. The plot would remain within the realm of allegorical or symbolic love, which were popular romance narratives in Turkey and in other Muslim territories such as in Persian and Arabic cultures. In other words, I argue that it required the very existence of an "Other"—in this case, a non-Muslim Other—to drive the development of the novel genre in Turkey.

In *Only Seventeen Years Old*, Ahmed Mithat constructs cultural context and the language of sexual intimacy between strangers. By portraying the brothel as the commercial and political as well as the familial arena, he produces the thematic links of different worlds of commerce, politics, and literature. The sexualized female body is most often represented by a prostitute, but in *Only Seventeen Years Old*, Ahmed Mithat expresses ethnic and religious anxieties by making the prostitute an Ottoman Greek woman. My questions in this article are the following: How did this novel help define the terms of cultural and ethnic verisimilitude for early Ottoman fiction? Why is it in the realm of the most private relations (the sexual) that the most public relation (the dependence of the Ottoman Empire on non-indigenous economic, political, and cultural support) finds its aesthetic symbolization? Several of the cultural contradictions of modernity, most notably the necessity for constructing an Other inside the Ottoman Empire in order to catalyze and reify a genuinely Ottoman Muslim identity, are encoded in the structures of this first generation of novels.

Ottoman Empire in the Late Nineteenth Century

For the Ottoman Empire, the nineteenth century was a period not only of territorial losses but also of the erosion of economic independence, as well as an overall loss of state authority. During this period, the Ottoman Empire felt the impact of the military and financial might of European powers such as England, France, and Austria-Hungary. Beginning with

the Crimean War of 1853–56, the Ottoman Empire started to borrow from European financiers and states. In 1876, the bonds sold by the Porte failed to meet the interest payments, which led to European control over the Ottoman treasury. The Council of Public Debt, seemingly an Ottoman institution, was established to protect and represent the European creditors.²

In addition to financial problems, the nationalist ideology spread by Western influences had a great impact on the ethnic and religious minorities in the empire. It started to influence the western provinces of the empire; the Greeks revolted in 1821, and then other Balkan peoples followed the same path. Partly to reverse this loss of land and the loyalty of its non-Muslim subjects, two imperial decrees were issued, in 1839 and 1856, aimed at making all Ottoman subjects, regardless of their religion or ethnic affiliations, equal before the law. However, this did not stem the further disintegration of the empire along ethnic-national lines; instead it unexpectedly led to the estrangement and isolation of the Muslim community, which perceived itself to be under attack from the special privileges given to non-Muslim groups in the empire.³ This sense of isolation and frustration among the Muslim population is captured by the major historian of the period, Ahmet Cevdet Paşa:

In accordance with this *ferman* [of 1856] Muslim and non-Muslim subjects were to be equal in all rights. This had a very adverse effect on the Muslims . . . Many Muslims began to grumble: "Today we have lost our sacred national rights, won by the blood of our fathers and forefathers. At a time when the Islamic millet was the ruling millet, it was deprived of this sacred right. This is a day of weeping and mourning for the people of Islam."⁴

Abdülhamid II (reign 1839–61), in particular, tried to reverse the Ottoman Empire's erosion of authority by emphasizing the unity of his Muslim subjects. Abdülhamid II appealed to Islam to win the support of the *umma*, which meant politicizing Islam as a means of salvaging the Ottoman state. The wars with Russia, along with the attendant territorial losses to Russia and other European countries and the immigration of a large number of Muslims of various backgrounds fleeing persecution in the Balkans and Russia, contributed to the mobilization of religious sentiment and consolidated the general feeling among Muslims that Tanzimat (reorganization) policies had failed the Muslim population while only acceding to separatist tendencies among Christians. A religious-based administrative system called the *millet* system was developed in order to manage the several different ethnic groups, languages, and religions of the empire. This system let local religious leaders act as intermediaries between the local community (of whatever ethnicity) and the state.⁵ It is

important to note the coincidence in time between early Turkish novels, with their ethnically specific gender representations, and the dissolution of the traditional Ottoman *millet* system. This period was marked by interference by the European powers in the domestic affairs of the Ottoman Empire on a greater and greater scale, often in the name of "protecting" Christian subjects in the empire. The reaction of the educated elite culture outside of court circles was one of indignation at every surrender of sovereignty. Ahmed Mithat Efendi supported the Ottomanist ideology (that all ethnic and religious groups in the empire could continue to live together under the Ottoman identity), but at the same time was aware of the European influence. In a sense, the major problem of the Ottoman state in the nineteenth century was to revitalize the empire by renewing the loyalty of the non-Muslim subjects in the empire while not alienating Muslim subjects. The Tanzimat reforms and the edicts that followed it aimed at creating a common citizenship and equal political status before the law.

Since the *millet* system provides the background against which the encounter between the Muslim male and the Other unfolds, I will quickly sketch the history of this system. The *millet* system was first implemented in the fifteenth century during the reign of Mehmet the Conqueror (1432–81) and remained intact until the mid-nineteenth century. There were four major *millets*: Muslim, Orthodox, Armenian, and Jewish. This classification system, based on religion, created semiautonomous civil units that were entitled to the organization of their own legal, judicial, fiscal, educational, charitable, and religious functions.⁵ Each *millet* was also comprised of ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous communities. The Orthodox *millet*, for instance, was organized under the Greek Patriarchate based in Istanbul and consisted of Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, and Albanians. The Muslim *millet* included Turks, Kurds, Arabs, Albanians, and other Caucasian groups.⁷ Sephardi, Ashkenazi, Karaite, and Romaniote Jews comprised the Jewish *millet*.⁸ The relationship of these communities with the Sublime Porte was, of course, hierarchical in that, for instance, the non-Muslim groups, *dhimmi*, were required to pay an extra poll tax (*cizye*), but were exempt from military duty.⁹ The Ottoman state carefully tried to keep the distinctions among its communities intact through legal sanctions, the most famous of which was a dress-code system.¹⁰

However strictly the *millet* system might have been applied as an administrative category, in their lived experience people did not neatly fall into this system. For instance, in Anatolia there were Armenian-speaking Greeks who used Greek letters to write in Armenian; in Istanbul, there were Greek-speaking Jews who used the Hebrew alphabet to write Greek and Greeks who spoke Ladino.¹¹ Moreover, in addition to religious and linguistic identity markers, ethnicity, tribal ties, Sufi affiliations, and

occupation also played important roles. In other words, rather than being neat and tight, the *millet* categories were flexible. Moreover, they changed, overlapped, and cut across each other. The point I want to emphasize is that the social, economic, and ethnic categories in the Ottoman Empire were much more fluid and complex than is portrayed in the image of a dysfunctional empire that has come down to us in orthodox histories.

Describing the *millet* system as a "rather unique institution in the annals of social history," Ottoman historian Kemal Karpat explains that

The *millet* system emerged gradually as an answer to the efforts of the Ottoman administration to take into account the organization and culture of the various religious-ethnic groups it ruled. The system provided, on the one hand, a degree of religious, cultural, and ethnic continuity within these communities, while on the other it permitted their incorporation into the Ottoman administrative, economic and political system. An ethnic-religious group preserved its culture and religion while being subject to continuous "Ottomanization" in other spheres of life.¹²

The complex *millet* system was a unique system of ruling subject peoples that distinguished the Ottoman Empire from other world empires, and it is exactly this system that gave rise to the first prostitution novels in the Ottoman Empire, in which the sexual imaginary is interwoven with an ethnic and religious imaginary.

The *millet* system, even as it was dissolving in the nineteenth century, helped shape the erotic imaginary of the Ottoman novel, as we can see, for instance, in the sexual contract presented in Ahmed Mithat Efendi's (1844–1912) *Henüz On Yedi Yaşında*.¹³ The novel offers unique insights about the relationship between political unity and ethnicity and religion mainly through its depiction of prostitution. In my next section, I suggest that we read the figure of the Greek prostitute in the novel as a vehicle to mark and problematize the limits of Ottoman identity: she inhabits a space that is both outside the approved forms of sexual contract and at the margins of the Ottoman sociopolitical structure.

Sexualization of Social Categories/Non-Muslim Prostitutes

This situation of prostitution and infamy in these girls is a disease. And this disease is not only in the bodies and souls of these girls. It is a contagious disease in the body and soul of the civilized society that we live in. That's why, those who see this must nevertheless be blind if they do not try to cure this disease.

The above passage is taken from a scene in which Ahmed Efendi, the hero of the novel, is referring to Greek and Armenian prostitutes working at a brothel in Beyoğlu. The novel is about the life of a Greek prostitute named Kalyopi (who is "only seventeen years old") who is rescued from the brothel in which she works by Ahmed Efendi, a Muslim lawyer and philosopher.¹⁴ The didactic purpose of the novel is to denounce the practice of prostitution and cast light on the Beyoğlu brothels, which Ahmed Mithat often refers to as *murdar* (dirty, polluted) places.¹⁵ Kalyopi is never dehumanized; the older narrator, Ahmed Efendi, is represented as the protector of the young prostitute, who ended up at this brothel as a result of social ills and her environment rather than as a result of being an essentially "bad" woman. However, the fact that at the end of the novel he has to pay the Armenian madam to "save" Kalyopi from the brothel still reminds us of the exchange value of her body.

The above passage, from a conversation between Ahmed Efendi and his friend Hulûsi, with whom he goes to a brothel in Beyoğlu, condenses a threefold condemnation of prostitution: first, prostitutes are pollutants of the society; second, prostitution is an illness that comes with Westernization; third, prostitution points to the corruption that inheres in the presence of non-Muslim minorities in the Ottoman Empire, inasmuch as all the prostitutes are non-Muslim. According to Ahmed Efendi, there is no prostitution in Ottoman society and tradition proper, while there are all kinds of it among Westerners; prostitution only came to Ottoman society when Ottomans started to adopt Western culture. While he concedes that there are also Muslim prostitutes, they are, he claims, very rare; rather, most prostitutes are Greek or Armenian. Ahmed Efendi's claims extend beyond the issue of the prostitute to the problem of ethnic and religious boundaries in the Ottoman Empire. Prostitution can only be represented within ethnically and religiously specific Ottoman identities, making the prostitute subject to the Ottoman state—but only as a non-Muslim, that is, a Greek or an Armenian.

In one of their conversations, Hulûsi Bey and Ahmed Efendi discuss why prostitution exists in Ottoman society. Ahmed Efendi argues that "there isn't such a repulsive thing among Turks, Muslims or Ottomans; this came from the Franks [Europeans]" (*Henüz* 197). As a proof that prostitution came to Ottomans from European traditions, he points to Anatolia and Asia, where he argues that if you "go and look at the places where the hat [representing Europeaness] didn't enter, you wouldn't be able to find any brothels in these places." He continues:

If the population of Beyoğlu is one hundred thousand, there are over one thousand women who apparently work as prostitutes and over twenty percent of the men clearly commit *zina* [adultery]. Where

inside Anatolia and Asia can you find such a thing? . . . In short, I have no doubt that neither in our Islam nor in Christianity is there such an evil custom, which means it only entered our lands with the entry of Europeans. (*Henüz* 198)

Here, Ahmed Mithat attributes "prostitution" to Europeans while he disassociates it from Muslims as well as Christians in the Ottoman Empire. In other words, he distinguishes between European and Ottoman Christians, which reflects the Ottomanist ideology that Ottoman identity is beyond ethnic or religious identity. He also captures the defensiveness of the Ottomans against European aggression in other realms of life. Prostitution is a proxy here for the complicated relationship between Muslims and non-Muslim minorities in the Ottoman Empire and the empire's relationship with Europe in the long nineteenth century.¹⁶ Efendi's portrayal of women and men and their sexual relationships can also be seen as an inversion of the Western European trope of overly sexualized Ottoman women, the harem, and the *cariyes*. It is not a coincidence that *frengi*, the word for syphilis in Turkish, comes from the word *Frenk*, which refers to Europeans. The famous Ottoman Turkish dictionary of Şemseddin Sâmî, *Kamus-î Türkî* (1889), defines *frengi* as "specific to Europeans; the illness that spread to us from Europe."¹⁷ In her literary study of the epistemological foundations of Tanzimat novels, Jale Parla argues that Tanzimat writers frequently use the marriage metaphor to describe the relationship between Europe and Asia, representing Asia as the male and Europe as the female. For instance, Şinasi talks about "marry[ing] (or . . . coupl[ing]) the ancient wisdom of Asia and the new (virgin) ideas of Europe."¹⁸

Henüz On Yedi Yaşında opens at a restaurant in Beyoğlu where Ahmed Efendi and Hulusî Bey are having dinner before attending a play staged by a group of French actors and actresses. When the play ends, it is already late and it is pouring rain, so after failing to bargain down the price of a carriage ride to the other side of the Galata Bridge, they go into a coffee-house to have a couple more drinks. At this time, the only customers left at the coffeehouse are "those who were keen on pleasure and enjoyment by importuning German musician girls and trying to approach maids from seven nations. After even those huddled into their corners with the girls they had importuned, the waiters started to turn off the lights and looked into the eyes of these two friends meaningfully" (*Henüz* 41). The author makes it clear that Ahmed Efendi has no other option, and he is persuaded to stay in one of those houses of ill repute, although he makes it a condition that he will sleep alone. The house they choose is run by an older Armenian madame, where all the prostitutes are either Greek or Armenian.

This scene is typical of Ahmed Mithat's novels, setting us in the midst of a contemporary slice of life. Nowhere else do we find such a representation

and understanding of nineteenth-century Ottoman society. These novels register subtle and otherwise hard to document changes in the sexual relationships that formed a crucial part of the politics of emotion and intimacy within Ottoman society. In *The Theory of the Novel*, Georg Lukács, referring to European and Russian novels of the time, argues that what distinguishes the nineteenth-century novel as a genre, what makes it the epic of the modern world, is its capacity to narrate the socialization of the individual.¹⁹ Due to the political and cultural context of the period during which the first Ottoman Turkish novels were written, the socialization of the individual requires a struggle with a changing understanding of communal identity. Early novels, in this sense, embodied the unspoken cultural limits between different ethnic groups.

If the prostitute, however, becomes an allegory for the encounter between Ottoman society and the Other that is both inside and outside its boundaries, we still haven't answered the question: why use prostitution in particular?

The major novels that depict famous prostitute characters were the French novels of the period. Writing on the representation of prostitution in nineteenth-century France, Charles Bernheimer claims that the best known of the novelistic prostitutes with "a heart of gold" was Fleur-de-Marie, the heroine of Eugène Sue's best-selling novel *Les mystères de Paris* (1842–43), which was also very popular in the Ottoman Empire.²⁰ However, this romantic portrayal of the prostitute gave way to more realistic depictions not only of urban prostitutes but also of the social conditions that led women to prostitution, such as poverty. The most famous example of this realist and naturalist representation of prostitution is, of course, Emile Zola's *Nana* (1880).²¹ Bernheimer suggests that the story of *Nana* "has a historical dimension: the rotten corpse of Nana is symbolically analogous to the rotten body of Imperial France, about to enter the disastrous war against Bismarck's Germany."²² Hence, the body of the prostitute symbolizes the body politic of the French nation.

The prostitute is a paradigmatic figure for modern literature, particularly in Europe. She reminds the people around her of their anxieties about chaos and social disruption. According to Susan Buck-Morss's reading of Walter Benjamin's *Passagen-Werk*, in the Paris of the Second Empire, the prostitute represents the feminization of *flânerie*; she is the female *flâneur par excellence*.²³ What makes the prostitute threatening for the regulation of space in the European industrial city is her ability to traverse the class boundaries of social space, in violation of the distinction between seller and commodity. In the Ottoman Empire, the prostitute also traverses the boundaries of ethnicity and religion. If we think about this within existing feminist scholarship, which has shown how modern nations have often been imagined through familial metaphors, the larger threat posed by the

prostitute in early Ottoman Turkish novels is to the kind of domesticated female sexuality that provides the idiom of communal and religious belonging.²⁴ Scholars working on the Middle East have shown how national honor and sexual honor (*namus*) refer to each other in several Middle Eastern societies.²⁵ In *Henüz On Yedi Yaşında*, the prostitute, the characteristic figure of deceitfulness and duplicity, provides Ahmed Mithat with a way to reinscribe the challenges to the Ottoman body politic. She and her environment, the brothel, hint at the possibility of another form and space of "love," one which ultimately threatens communal unity and harmony.

Prostitution in the Ottoman Empire cannot be simply extrapolated from nineteenth-century European prostitution, with most urban prostitutes "walking the streets" of Paris and London: prostitution was mostly an indoor affair in Beyoğlu.²⁶ Men went to them, instead of vice versa. The prostitutes worked almost wholly in brothels where men could spend the night, eat, drink, take a bath, listen to music, and have conversation with women, as well as participate in the commercial exchange of sex. There were different variations of how a man and a woman could have a sexual relationship outside matrimony. For instance, it was common for men to develop a relationship with a single woman in the brothel. A man could have a favorite and go to the brothel for her alone, or he could buy or rent an apartment for her and support her financially in her own place and keep her to himself only.²⁷ The services provided at these brothels by non-Muslim prostitutes were a form of sociability as well as sexuality; prostitutes offered conversation, company, and pleasure for their clients. Both the space where prostitution took place and time spent at the brothel resemble a domestic structure so closely that it almost looks like a domestic space—which is not to say that it was voluntary sex on the woman's part, or that the cash nexus wasn't the center of this structure.²⁸ The double nature of the brothel, both as an intimate space resembling the domestic sphere and as a commercial public sphere in which sex and pleasure was exchanged for money, complicates the demarcations between inside and outside. The brothel existed as a locale that makes the opposition of public and private spheres unstable, highlighting the gendered configuration of domesticity that defines, by its contrast, "public" space. When thought of within the context of how domestic women, wives, daughters, mothers, sisters, and so on, are situated in the collective imagination vis-à-vis the collective identity, the brothel and the prostitute complicate the neat history of the collective identity.

As several feminist scholars have theorized, nationalism, as a politics of visibility, implicates women and men in different ways. Women are generally subsumed symbolically into the national body politic as its boundary and as its metaphoric limit. They are typically constructed as the symbolic bearers of the nation. Feminist scholars Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya

Anthias, working on the relationship between nationalism and gender, explain that women have been implicated in nationalism not only as "biological reproducers of the members of ethnic collectivities" and "reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic/national groups," but also "as signifiers of ethnic/national differences—as a focus and symbol in ideological discourses used in the construction, reproduction and transformation of ethnic/national categories."²⁹ Feminist scholars working on the role of women in the construction of nationalism in Middle Eastern countries have shown that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the nationalist elite of several Middle Eastern countries saw women as the symbolic bearers of the nation.³⁰ In these movements of modernization and nationalism, women are integrated into nationalist projects as icons of modernity, as "mothers of the nation," and therefore as the bearers of traditional and authentic culture. The "mother" figure, represented as chaste and dutiful, evokes her opposite—prostitutes, courtesans, and "loose women" embodying values opposing those of the nationalist imagery. The figure of the prostitute can be read as a re-inscription of the nationalist figuring of the nation as Mother, a rewriting that opens to debate the familial discourse of nationalism. As such, the figure of the prostitute shatters this image of the nation as Mother and hints at possibilities of sexual experience unimagined in the affective realm of nationalism. Sexual experience with a prostitute, and the imagination and representation of it, is also important in that it deconstructs the understanding of sex as being for the purpose of procreation only, which is the main foundation for marriage.

Although prostitution was legal under certain conditions, Muslim women were not legally allowed to work as prostitutes under Shar'ia law. In spite of this, there were Muslim prostitutes in İstanbul, for instance in Aksaray, a mostly Muslim neighborhood on the Asian side of the city that was renowned for its houses of ill repute. The popular cultural historian Reşat Ekrem Koçu has written in detail about these houses and women working there, and men who act as their patrons, the *kılhanbeyi* and *kahadây*; culture of these places, in his *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*.³¹ However, when one compares this reality to the novels of the time, strikingly, prostitution is concentrated in modern, European-associated İstanbul localities. In the novels' construction of the sexual geography of İstanbul, the sites of dangerous pleasures in fiction by writers like Ahmed Mithat are not mostly brothels such as those which may have been found in Aksaray, but rather other modern entertainment spaces such as music halls, dance halls, and beer halls. These places operated, in the novelistic imagination, as gateways to vice—and were all the more dangerous inasmuch as they were not completely guilty.

There were about two thousand prostitutes in the district of Galata alone.³² Both the prostitutes and young girls working at the Beyoğlu shops

were vulnerable to random violence by men, as instanced by the story of a waitress in a bar in Galata who was stabbed by a man because she did not want to have a sexual and romantic relation with him.³¹ In his dissertation on violent crimes in late nineteenth-century Istanbul, Roger Deal gives several examples of men stabbing or killing women who either refused their amorous advances or used to be their lovers but did not want to be anymore. He refers to several cases where men fight with each other for prostitutes in brothels or girls working at the coffee shops, beer halls, and other entertainment places of Galata.³² In another case, the bodies of three women, whose names suggest that they may have been Muslim, were found in a bag in a well in Çengelköy, a neighborhood on the Asian side of Istanbul. Later, it turned out that they were most likely killed by their customers.³³

In Tanzimat novels, Muslim Ottoman women are mostly portrayed as good mothers and virtuous, loyal wives. This is the case in *İzzetkâr Talât ve Fitnat* (1872, Romance of Talât and Fitnat), which is generally cited as the first Turkish novel. Femmes fatales are foreign women, women from non-Muslim groups, or fallen women and prostitutes. As renowned Turkish literary critic Berna Moran states, in the Turkish novel's first twenty-five years the most prominent women character types are victims and femmes fatales or angels and devils.³⁴ And, although association with evil women leads to the destruction of the male heroes, these femmes fatales are portrayed with more depth and individuality than are the good mothers and loyal wives, who cannot transcend the level of a stock character. In this sense, *İzzetkâr Talât ve Fitnat*, and almost all other early Ottoman Turkish novels, offer a critique of traditional arranged marriages, in which marriage partners were not allowed to develop a relationship with each other before the marriage, and in fact, in some cases, did not even see each other before their wedding day. In most elite families, marriages were decided on by the families, mostly by the mothers of the future brides and grooms, based on the perceived character of the spousal candidates as well as their social standing and reputation. The early novels, written by elite Ottoman men, criticized this notion of marriage without intimacy. The figure of the prostitute offered a way they could imagine and represent the intimacy they yearned for, and that they could not find in their arranged marriages.

The Turkish novelist also had at his disposal Muslim *carries* (slave girls), the other important category of women with whom Ottoman men are allowed to fall in love. The Turkish literary critic Raul Mutluy explains,

With an Islamic reticence, our writers did not wish to penetrate into the secrets of the structure of the normally constituted family. Therefore, they would wind up being unable to develop themes of love

in a womanless society. To eliminate this gap, there were two paths in front of them. They could either bring Moslem men together with fallen women or women from the minority groups, or they could have them fall in love with slaves.³⁷

The fact that *carries* were physically and socially available to young Ottoman men made them easier to use in a romance story that would involve the young sons of the household. A typical example of this pattern is *Sergüzeşt Bir Esir Kızın Romani* (Adventure Novel of a Slave Girl, 1888), a novel by Sami Paşazade Sezai. In this account of the adventures of a *carrie*, Sezai condemns slavery and depicts the deplorable living conditions of the slave girls of the time in Istanbul. *Carries* were usually girls of Circassian origins sold to elite Istanbul households as servants.³⁸ In most cases, when they were of age, they were emancipated by their masters and married off to either a prospective husband that the family knew or to one of the sons of the household. Since they were trained from an early age in the manners of an elite household, they were seen as prospective mates for many Ottoman men.

Another significant novel of the period, Namik Kemal's *İntibah: Ali Bey in Sergüzeşt*, (Awakening: Adventures of Ali Bey, 1876), provides an example of how this dilemma worked itself out. The hero, Ali Bey, is represented as torn between a sanctioned love represented by a *carrie*, Dilaşub, and the uncontrolled desire he feels for a prostitute, Meypeyker, who ultimately destroys him. Dilaşub is bought by Ali Bey's mother to "cure" him of his addiction to Meypeyker, as such she represents the pure, clean woman who, with her good nature, will in turn purify and heal Ali Bey of his uncontrollable attraction for Meypeyker.³⁹ However, the portrayal of Dilaşub is so weak and so nondescript that even if Kemal meant to promote the character of Dilaşub as the approved role for a woman, it is still Meypeyker's passionate portrayal that leaves an everlasting impression both on Ali Bey and on the readers themselves.

Europeanization: Westernization as Contamination

In the early Ottoman Turkish novels, the Ottoman Empire's encounter with European dominance is represented as a complicated love-hate relationship, which is echoed even today, within the framework of the European Union candidacy discussions. In these novels, written by the male elite of the nineteenth century, the preoccupation with authenticity, purity, and imitation of what is perceived to be European manners manifests itself in several ways. One predominant trope of the obsession with authenticity is that of the *alaturka* ("in the Frank way"), which referred to a European way of doing things, as opposed to *alaturca*, which means "in the Turkish or traditional way."⁴⁰ Along with the prostitute, the figure of the dandy or

the *alafranga* becomes a representative type marked by the negative aspects of Western influence, exemplifying the misguided notions of Westernization. A typical example of the *alafranga* is Bihruz Bey in Recaizade Ekrem's *Araba Sevdası* (Carriage Affair, 1896).⁴¹ Dandies are almost always portrayed as feminized characters, revealing another layer of the deep anxiety over the emasculating effect of Western influence. The dandy makes a natural couple with the prostitute—the former, over Westernized and decadent, the latter emasculating and treacherous. Depicted as the unwanted byproduct of Westernization, prostitutes in the early novels challenge perceived notions of decency and social respectability associated with women in domestic households, mothers, wives, daughters, and *carries*. The portrayal of over-Westernization as a source of moral decay must be understood in the context of resentment about the extent of European influence on Ottoman culture and society in the late nineteenth century.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, European (especially French) manners, fashion, language, literature, and ways of life had become quite widespread among a certain social stratum of Istanbulites.⁴² By the 1840s, European theater troops were regularly coming to Istanbul, and both the non-Muslims and the Ottoman Muslim elite attended these shows regularly. Sultan Abdulmecid I (ruled 1839–61) himself spoke French, played the piano, enjoyed European classical music and European theater, and read the illustrated French magazines.⁴³ Abdulmecid even ordered the building of a palace theater inside the Dolmabahçe Palace in 1859 so that he could watch the operas and operettas staged by touring European theater companies.⁴⁴ As a rising new elite became deeply dissatisfied with the Ottoman government's impotence in the face of the European powers, European culture became, by association, perceived as a source of decadence and social disintegration. At the same time, European technology and political ideas exerted an influence on the dissident elite social strata; they could also find a robust self-critique in European culture—the vocabulary of which they could transfer to the Ottoman situation.

Beyoğlu as a Heterosocial Space

Early Turkish novels strikingly convey the cosmopolitan life of nineteenth-century Istanbul and capture glimpses of daily life. In these novels, Istanbul is portrayed as a city where cultures are geographically segregated. On the one side, there is Pera, or Beyoğlu (as it was often called), a place full of Franks and Levantines, and a place of non-Islamic customs and sin. On the other hand, there are the Muslim quarters of the capital, where the local neighborhood life and values are the center of community. In the urban spaces of everyday life, and in cultural and literary representations of the neighborhood, Beyoğlu is a boundary space which, along with Galata,

connoted the European and non-Muslim presence in Turkey. This was due not only to its large European expatriate community, but also to the presence of large local non-Muslim Ottoman minorities—Greeks, Jews, Armenians, and others. Located across the Golden Horn from İstanbul, the Galata neighborhood is separated from the predominantly Muslim neighborhoods of İstanbul. Historically, it had been a Genoese commercial colony during Byzantine rule, even after the conquest of İstanbul by Mehmet II in 1453, Galata maintained its Christian character, containing a multicultural commercial center that included Armenian, Greek, and Jewish merchants and European embassies and people.

Here is how Edmondo De Amicis, a popular travel writer of the time, describes the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Pera in his *Constantinople* (1877):

Pera is one hundred metres above sea level, is airy and lively, and looks down upon the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. It is the "West End" of the European colony, the centre of pleasure and elegance. The street we follow is bordered by English and French hotels, elegant cafés, glittering shops, theatres, consulates, clubs and ambassadors' palaces. . .

Almost all the men wear top hats while the ladies have feathered and flowered bonnets. There are dandies from Greece, Italy and France; important merchants, embassy officials, officers from foreign ships, ambassadorial coaches, and shady characters of every nationality. Europeans talk in loud voices, joking and laughing in the street, the Muslim feels himself to be in a foreign country and walks on holding his head a little less high than he does in Stanboul.⁴⁰

De Amicis's description is noteworthy not only because it captures the Westernized atmosphere of this district but also because it indicates the alienation of the Muslims in this part of the empire's capital. While Europeans walk the streets of Pera confidently, Muslims walk with their heads "a little less high than" they do in other parts of the city.

During the nineteenth century places such as taverns and wine houses, which had previously been strictly regulated and zoned, gained a relative level of freedom of operation that accompanied the increase of their number in İstanbul. Later, restrictions were put on the location of wine houses, and it was forbidden to open wine houses in Muslim neighborhoods and near mosques. The following decades saw the opening of coffeehouses that also served alcoholic drinks in Beyoğlu. As Sevensil writes,

In these coffeehouses and taverns, drunken foreign prostitutes, accompanied by unprofessional orchestras, sang and danced and many lusty eyes watched them, admiring and applauding until their hands

hurt. On the other hand, the brothels sheltering non-Muslim prostitutes were gathered in certain districts and began to practice their trade openly. Although Muslim women were forbidden to practice prostitution, there were brothels in Aksaray employing Muslim prostitutes and receiving respectable customers of the time.⁵⁰

In urban centers such as Istanbul, the increasingly visible presence of women in public places such as moonlight excursions on the Bosphorus and shopping in the *Bon Marche* of Pera made elite men such as Ahmet Cevdet Paşa anxious, associating this publicness with an increase in womanizing and scandalous incidents.⁵¹ The anxiety and concern over the public visibility of women were so high that an official decree was issued to clarify the standards for acceptable dress for Muslim women in public. It specified *çarşaf* [outer garments worn by Muslim women] lengths and the types of materials that should be used for veils, making sure that Muslim women did not dress in a "tempting way" in public.⁵²

Nineteenth-century Istanbul contained a rich diversity of ethnic and religious groups. Alan Duben and Cem Behar, in their seminal study of the family structure of Istanbul between 1880 and 1940, state that "a third to half of the population in Istanbul was non-Muslim at various points during those years, the predominant groups being Greek, Armenian and Jewish."⁵³ Even European visitors were astonished by the extent of Westernization they saw in Beyoğlu. For instance, the French writer Gérard de Nerval wrote in a letter to his father on 19 August 1843 that Istanbul had become a city where "even a Turk felt himself a foreigner."⁵⁴

The Crimean War brought a vast number of Europeans into the city, followed by an influx of Europeanized Turks from Egypt, who had a great impact on the elite of Istanbul. In the 1860s and 1870s, newspapers, magazines, and novels began publishing detailed accounts of European ways of doing things. With these publications and the goods bought from the *Bon Marche* of Beyoğlu, Europe made an entrance into the elite houses of Istanbul, both non-Muslim and Muslim alike. Sir Edwin Pears, a longtime resident of Istanbul, commented on the changes in the city itself:

The influence of Western thought on the status of women is having a valuable effect on home life in Turkey. English, American and French teaching, the study of English literature, even the reading of the ordinary French novel, not a very elevating study in general, all are exerting a useful influence in stimulating thought, and especially in indicating what family life is.⁵⁵

Whereas Sir Edwin Pears regarded changes in the society as having a "useful influence" on the family, the Muslim communities of Istanbul found

such changes threatening. Ahmed Mithat, in another novel, points out the penetration of European influence in Istanbul

It is certain that now foreigners outnumber the local Christian population in places such as Beyoğlu and Galata. The population of Istanbul is estimated to be 1,100,000 of which 700,000 are reckoned to be Muslims and 120,000, foreigners. Where there is a concentration of foreign residents, it is not unusual to see that they beget children from local Christians. In the quarters where there is an increase in the number of foreigners, European morals become dominant, abuses, lewdness and scandals increase.⁵³

The anxiety Ottoman Muslim writers felt about the European influences that threatened their traditional values is exemplified in the relationships between men and women depicted in the novels and other intellectual work of the period. For instance, in his memoirs, journalist Ahmet İhsan Tokgoz recounted that his grandmother, Hanım Nine, disapproved of his "crossing the other side of the bridge," referring to his crossing from the Anatolian side of Istanbul, which is mostly populated by Muslims, to the European side

Like the other women of her generation, she wouldn't consider the other side (*kırsı*), Galata, Beyoğlu, as a part of our country. When she heard that my aunt's son and I went to Beyoğlu, she cried saying that "[t]hey took the boy to Frengistan (the land of the Franks—Europeans)"⁵⁴

Beyoğlu—with its Parisian-style cafés where a young Ottoman man could read newspapers in several languages (including *Le Monde Illustré* or *Courrier d'Orient*), with clothing and products reflecting the latest fashion of Paris on display at the Bon Marché, with music halls where European troupes performed operettas or cabarets—had become nineteenth-century Istanbul's entertainment and shopping district, attracting the genteel, the adventurous, and upstarts of all kinds. The ambiance that attracted young Ottoman men proved irresistible as well to nineteenth-century novelists, giving them material to comment on the harmful influences of over-Westernization.

As a genre, the novel itself may have demanded excursions to Beyoğlu, where romance without marriage was possible. For novelists of this period, Beyoğlu was a site of both romantic opportunity and European decadence. I have indicated the ways in which *Henüz On Yedi Yaşında* encoded this anxiety over the influence of Europe on local culture and values. Ahmed Mithat wrote with an agenda; he firmly believed in the ideology of Ottomanism and Islam, seeing Ottomanism as the solution to the disintegration of the familial body politics of the empire, where Muslims saw themselves as the patrons of other *millet*s.

The Life of the Prostitute through the Lens of *Henüz On Yedi Yaşında*

Henüz On Yedi Yaşında narrates the life of a prostitute Kalyopi whose life operates as a cautionary tale that makes explicit and implicit contrasts with the virtues of domestic life for women. While married life is presented within the context of the husband's love and protection of the wife, life in the brothel is associated with insecurity, risk, danger, and deceit. Living as a prostitute always requires the lie of disguise, forcing the prostitute to continuously negotiate between appearance and reality. For instance, Kalyopi, divorced from her Muslim husband and thus in need of income, arrives in Bevoğlu intending to work at a tailor's shop recommended by her cousin Amalya. Kalyopi soon learns that Amalya does more than work at a tailor's shop to earn a living for herself and for her mother. Some nights, she goes out with men and returns home drunk and with money. One night she encourages Kalyopi to spend the night with her and her male friends. That night Kalyopi learns the difference between calling her real husband "*Kocacığım*" (my dear husband) and her newly acquired clients "*Kocacığım*." At this point, the narrator editorializes as follows: "What is a husband? A husband is the second body of his wife in that he protects his wife's body with his own body as her body is more important. He dedicates himself to his wife by shielding himself against accidents and misfortunes" (*Henüz* 263). Her relationship to her clients is represented as a parody of this protective relationship.

Later, her sister Maryola explains to her that she knew from the beginning that Amalya was earning money through prostitution; normally, she would have been the one to take this responsibility, but she couldn't because she still had marriage prospects. She explains, "No matter what, I am still a [virgin] girl. I am engaged. Although I have lost my hopes with my fiancé, I haven't yet lost the hope of finding another husband. However you are a girl who got married to a Turk, got divorced from him, and have been the subject of everyone's gossip ever since" (*Henüz* 267). Maryola had thus connived at throwing Kalyopi into this position with the excuse that she has neither virginity nor reputation to lose. Betrayed by her own sister, her parents, and her community, Kalyopi is saved by Ahmed Etendi.

Ahmed Etendi's story rationalizes his belief that prostitutes are recruited solely from non-Muslim ethnic groups by saying that poverty drives them to it, abetted by traditional norms existing among those ethnic groups. Indeed, there is reason to think that, historically, recruitment for prostitutes was among those women who, for one reason or another, had violated patriarchal norms. And sometimes it wasn't just the loss of one's virginity that motivated the turn to prostitution. According to Ahmed Mithat, prostitution was more common among the Christian minorities in Istanbul because of the Greek tradition of *drahoma* (dowry). According to

this tradition, if a girl did not have a proper dowry, she couldn't marry, and therefore she had to turn to other means to support herself and her family:

The girls who do not have a dowry are forced to search for pleasure and delight through illegitimate ways. If the patriarchs only abolished this tradition, they could be very helpful in decreasing the practice of this abhorrent profession. What about the adopted girls? All of them are candidates for brothels. A Christian family adopts a poor girl, and in this family there is usually one or two young men. The girl has a secret love affair with them. In the meantime, others hear this secret affair in the family. Consequently, the girl is dismissed from the house. Her next stop is then a brothel. (Henüz 199)

The novel articulates and reproduces an ideology of female sexuality that links it, in one way or another, with the cash nexus—either the dowry that leads to domesticity and marriage or the direct payment for sexual favors that leads to degradation. The stark contrast between marriage and relationships formed in brothels is emphasized in several examples. One example is Ahmed Efendi's offended reaction to Kalyopi calling him "*kocacıgim*"—the customary phrase for customers among prostitutes, since according to him, even most married couples hesitate to use this term until they become really intimate (Henüz 71). As we have seen, this phrase operated for Kalyopi as her initiation into the alien world of the prostitute, where the normal is both transformed by the taboo and retained as an ultimate referent. The moral and social lines between being intimate with one's wife and a prostitute are, for Ahmed Efendi, clearly drawn.

Ahmed Mithat skillfully crafts the tension between who speaks and what is said, therefore, it is Kalyopi who makes the following comment about the difference between "respectable"—married—women and prostitutes. In this sense, the novel requires an ethical engagement from its readers. It presents the reader with the following question: What would you do if you were so and so?

Do you think that women who do not know any men other than their husbands in their harem [women's private quarters], women who love their husband sincerely are like us? Who are we? We are like animals, we do not love anybody in this world. When a customer buys us, he expects love and pleasure from us. However, whatever love, enthusiasm, and pleasure we show to them is a lie. (Henüz 83–84)

Kalyopi's rhetorical questions juxtapose the brothel and the space of respectable domesticity, making the prostitute the unsettling mirroring of the wife. This dialogue emphasizes, on the one hand, a discrepancy

between the world of elite domesticity and the world of the brothel, and on the other hand, a (perhaps unconsciously expressed) imbalance of the passions against women—for if the prostitute's lie is that she loves the client, what kind of truth is the client telling the wife? The lie that infects the claim of love has, seemingly, no limit. Of course, the prostitute in modern literature has been so associated with the world of commodity exchange in capitalist modernity as to have become one of the symbols of modernity. Confined by the morals and customs of the society, prostitutes sell their "virtue" in exchange for money. As Judith Walkowitz, writing on prostitutes in the Victorian period in England, comments:

The prostitute was the quintessential female figure of the urban scene, a prime example of the paradox. Repudiated and desired, degraded and threatening, the prostitute attracted the attention of a range of urban male explorers from the 1840s to the 1880s. (*City of Dreadful Delight* 21)

The social differences between prostitutes and other respectable women in society are clearly and carefully drawn in the novel. A key scene that underlines the differences between respectability and presentability in relation to prostitutes in public space comes up during a pleasure excursion Hülûsî Bey and Ahmed Bey take with Agavnu and Kalyopî. They all dress up nicely and go out to have dinner. Although the custom of the time dictated that an elite man should offer his arm to his female companion, Hülûsî Bey not only avoids giving his arm to Agavnu but also takes care to maintain a distance of four or five steps from her. The narrator explains his behavior as follows.

Isn't he right? How can one walk around arm-in-arm with such girls? If they were suitable for the title of "woman," there wouldn't be any problem, but with the kind who sleeps around with everybody, it wouldn't be appropriate for someone like Hülûsî Bey to be seen on the streets walking together. (*Henüz* 150)

The difference between Agavnu, "the experienced prostitute," and Kalyopî, "the apprentice one," is also emphasized in this scene, for Ahmed Efendi doesn't see any harm in offering his arm to Kalyopî in public. The fact that "Kalyopî was in mourning dress" also contributed to Ahmed Efendi's decision; she "wouldn't attract much attention" (*Henüz* 150).

The way the characters live while they are at the brothel presents a challenging case for the way the Ottoman imaginary perceived domesticity. The readers of the novel are privy to the violation of official Ottoman rules of decorum as they read a description of an entire day and night that

unrelated men and women spend in this brothel. In that forbidden space, the notion of the *mahrem* or *mahremiyet*—traditional social norms of the privacy of home and of family—are suspended. In many elite Ottoman households, there were separate living quarters for men and for women, *selamlik* and *haremlik* respectively; the brothel disrupts this social code by mixing together unrelated men and women in intimate situations that are otherwise available only to married couples. For instance, readers witness the privacy and intimacy between unrelated men and women when they read about their pillow talk (*Hemuz* 112). The intimacy of these scenes challenges perceived views of Muslim privacy and domesticity, not only for the characters, but also for the readers, who are symbolically implicated in such scenes. In fact, the novel even exaggerates the degree to which houses of ill repute did not observe *selamlik* and *haremlik*, which would have been disturbing for most Muslim readers. With scenes such as this, the novel gives the reader an almost voyeuristic experience of a forbidden intimacy between a man and a woman.

The brothel, then, provides an alternative space to bourgeois domesticity. It is a space where love, romance, and a sexual relationship with a woman are possible without the covenant of marriage. All women in this brothel are also involved romantically with men who are not solely related to them as customers, and the obstacle to being “only with them” stems from contributing factors exterior to the relationship itself. For instance, the most beautiful, attractive, and talented prostitute in the house, Agayrı, is in love with another Armenian, but they can’t be together because he is poor and Agayrı is too proud to be with him publicly. Lisamaki is in love with Cüneyt Bey, who spends a fortune to be with her but doesn’t want to marry her as he only “needs an *ayife* (coquette)—not a wife” (*Hemuz* 121). Filomen is in love with a Greek man, but he is both poor and married, so they can only see each other as lovers. In this way, the cash nexus—which smoothes the sexual relationship—is doubled by the nexus of sentiment, which remains unsanctioned precisely because of the markers having to do with money.

The existence of sentiment in prostitutes implies that these prostitutes are not cold-hearted exploiters, but are in this line of business due to their lack of other options. When Ahmed Efendi and Kalyopi are alone in their room, he is eager to hear the life story she has promised to tell him from her own lips; we learn how Kalyopi ended up in this brothel. She is originally from a village near Istanbul called Ayastefanos. She has seven siblings, and they supported themselves by washing clothes. Her elder sister, Marvola, died from a knife wound inflicted by a man called Ligor because she didn’t allow him to have sex with her. These memories make Kalyopi so sad that she can’t continue telling her story. The next morning, Ahmed Efendi tries to learn the details of living as a prostitute from Kalyopi.

Kalyopı recounts the extent of their exploitation by Dudu, the Armenian Madam who manages the house and the girls. Half of the fee taken from the customers goes to Dudu, in return for which the girls are given shelter and food. They all owe some money to Dudu, and therefore they can't leave the house. Kalyopı owes twenty five lira to Dudu; she describes her situation as if she were her *canıye* (Henüz 170). If they didn't owe her money, they could run their business in their own house and have the choice of deciding for themselves to have sex with men whom they like. They could choose from good *efendis* and gentlemen. At this point, Ahmed Efendi asks why she only talks about *efendis*, as this term mostly refers to Muslim men, not other men such as Christians. Kalyopı gives the following answer:

God save the Turks. The ones who behave to us most nicely are the Turks. The others first start bargaining from three *mecidiye*, although the fee is one and a half lira. Sometimes they just leave because they don't like the result of the bargain. They neither drink anything nor give any tips nor bring any presents! Nothing. They don't leave the bed till the morning. (Henüz 171)

We know that these prostitutes have Muslim customers as well, but Ahmed Mithat takes pains to emphasize the benevolence of the Muslim customers in contrast to the bad behavior of the non-Muslim customers. For instance, we are told that Kalyopı's first customer is a Muslim man who treats her well and pays her more than she asks for.

The circumstances that led to Kalyopı working in a brothel had to do with her expulsion from her community, which did not approve of her marriage to a Muslim man. This indication of ethnic and religious differences and economic hardships is a thread that runs through Kalyopı's story. At fifteen, she falls in love with a Muslim man named Yumru Bey when she meets him at the tavern that her father runs. After a courtship, Kalyopı and Yumru are married by an *imam*, a Muslim cleric. They consummate their marriage that night. The next day Kalyopı's father comes to Yumru's mansion to seek his daughter, and they tell him of their marriage. He shows no resentment or disagreement; however, the news is heard in their village. The rumor spreads that Kalyopı has run away with Yumru and converted to Islam. Kalyopı's father tries to explain the truth—that his daughter married Yumru willingly and with his consent, and that she did not convert to Islam as “Ottoman law allows a Muslim man to marry a Christian woman without her having to convert to Islam”—but no one believes him.³⁵ The pressure of the local Greek population on Kalyopı's father increases, and they demand that she divorce her Muslim husband and marry a Greek man. They take a petition to Bab-ı Ali, the sublime Porte, and the Greek Patriarchate. Her husband, Yumru, reminds her that as long

as she loves him and repeats this in front of the court: no one can separate them. But before the court day, she hears rumors that if she chooses to stay with Yumna, people from her (Orthodox) Greek community will kill her. She is promised that "if she says in front of the *sabits* (court officers) that she doesn't want her husband, the whole (Greek) millet will raise two thousand lira (for her *drahama*) and marry her off to a beautiful man" (Hemuz 230). Fearing death, in front of the *sabits* she says she doesn't want her husband, and she is returned to her family and Greek community.

When she divorces her husband and returns to her father's home, they suffer tremendously from poverty as the community that promised to help them if she divorced her husband offers no assistance. On the contrary, they continue to stigmatize her, claiming that "Jesus Christ was punishing them (Kalyopi and her family) because she had left the religion of Nazareth and converted to the religion of Islam" (Hemuz 250).

Central to this story is the inversion of this original betrayal: while the Christians betray their own land, the Muslims save them. Betrayed by her community, Kalyopi ends up in a brothel; once there, she is finally rescued by Ahmed Efendi, who pays her debts on the condition that she leave the world of the brothel entirely. He wants to see her as "a *nemesis* (honorable) and *metli* (chaste) girl" (Hemuz 277). Kalyopi responds to this "act of benevolence" with tears with joy: "Crying, she immediately hugged Ahmed Efendi and asked: 'I am not a prostitute any more' isn't this true? 'I am a *nemesis* woman from now on' is that true?"

Tellingly, though she becomes honorable, the stain of her past life, in the symbolic form of disease, is not so easily lifted. As she begins life as an honorable woman, she discovers a boil on her genitals. It is at this point that Ahmed Efendi, who has operated as both the story's necessary listener and the philanthropist, takes on the role of community healer. When he hears about Kalyopi's symptoms, he calls a doctor to take care of her. Then, as the novel draws to an end, Ahmed Efendi arranges the marriage of Kalyopi to a young Greek butler working in the home of one of his friends. So, at the end of the novel, the Greek woman is married to a Greek man, and the uncontrolled sexual threat of the prostitute is eliminated as domestic order is restored with Kalyopi's willing confinement to her home and marriage. Ahmed Efendi, the Muslim hero, emerges as a loving and compassionate father figure who, entering the liminal world of Bevoğlu and finding a state of social disorder and chaos, finds a way to reestablish a wholesome stability and balance. Ahmed Mithat's didactic message in the novel is put in terms of perceiving society as essentially identified by relations of kinship and family – some members in this familial relationship play a major role while others are designated as minor members of the family – with Ahmed Efendi fulfilling both his family and his social role by being a protector of women.

In conclusion, the prostitute figure in *Henüz On Yedi Yaptırda* functions as an element that reproduces boundaries between different ethnic and religious groups in the Ottoman Empire. Bevoğlu, the Europeanized and multicultural neighborhood on the European side of Istanbul, functions as a "heterogeneous public sphere" where young Ottoman men can take leisure walks and spend pleasurable time.³⁰ The modern spaces of Istanbul—the theater, the beer halls, the music and dance halls, the cafés, and the cabaret—were initially identified as both modern and European and the place of (mostly non-Muslim) free women, and as places where Ottoman Muslim men could meet with and talk to unrelated women freely, often for the first time in their lives. These spaces emerge not only as a source of urban pleasure, but also as a site of moral danger, an unwanted economic option for women, a marker of communal disintegration in the face of exploitation, and the epitome of modernity.

Social space, especially the every day use of city streets, serves as the locus within which both gender distinctions and female identity are constructed. Woman's status is often defined in spatial metaphors of woman's place and the proper female sphere, which is the home. Yet at the heart of modernity—the lack of which has made the Ottoman Empire a dependent of the European powers—is the dissolution of this strict separation. In its place is Bevoğlu, an internal Ottoman space that resembles the dream spaces of Europe, in which women can mix with others, both male and female, regardless of class or social standing. This challenges the whole structure of male-female distinctions. In fact, the spontaneity, diversity, and color of life on the streets of a cosmopolitan city like Istanbul defies the constraints officials defining social and gender boundaries. As I have shown, in the novel *Henüz On Yedi Yaptırda*, we get a clear articulation of the clash of meanings which arise from the alternative implications of the relationship between gender and public space. The novel is materially complicit with this new regime of mixtures inasmuch as it, too, is offered promiscuously to a community of readers whose access to it depends entirely on money—putting the novel, in one way, on par with the prostitute. On the other hand, as the novel forges a story that moves toward a traditional resolution of the modern sexual problem, it seeks to efface by way of content its formal, material effect—much as the Ottoman state sought both to modernize and to contain the forces of modernization. The major location of this public enactment of gender difference was not only within the city streets, but with a consumer and entertainment culture that derived from the hard-to-control mobility of the urban scene. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the traditional zones that formerly defined the city were dissolved as heterogeneous spaces were built, such as theaters, department stores, parks, restaurants, and beer halls, all of which provided space where unrelated men and women could mingle.

Ottoman male writers used women as a fund of metaphors that neatly captured the central problem of urban social space: how to recreate traditional order and hierarchy in an environment where social differences jostled each other in spaces that seemed to dissolve them. The social relations of males and females were being redrawn not only on the streets of the nineteenth-century city but also in the pages of novels. For early Ottoman Turkish novelists, the category of the fallen woman encapsulated ethnic and religious as well as class distinctions.

In every early Ottoman Turkish novel written by a man, if a young woman is depicted as being alone in public space, unaccompanied by a male relative, a servant, or an older woman, she will invariably turn out to be either a prostitute or a sexually available woman. Meypeyker, the courtesan in *Intihab* (Awakening), meets Ali Bey in the Çamlıca Park and proceeds to seduce him and lead him to his destruction. Şöhret Bey (Mr Fame), the Westernized dandy of Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar's *Şık* (Chic; 1889), meets his mistress, a Levantine courtesan named Madam Potiş, at a "Beyoğlu Night." In Recaizade Ekrem's *Araba Sevdası* (Carriage Affair; 1896), Bihruz Bey meets the femme fatale Perişen Harun in a carriage in Kadıköy. It is significant that women's presence in public engages a narrative process in novels written by men that will always end up associating them with indecent behavior and engagements. The first and only novel of this period that broke this rule was written by a woman. Fatma Aliye, in creating her young Muslim heroine Retet, not only produced another female type for her women readers to whose example they could aspire, but also showed that an honorable Muslim woman could use and enjoy the public spaces of Istanbul.

Middle East Technical University
Ankara, Turkey

NOTES

1 I would like to thank Ann Cvetkovich, Elizabeth Richmond-Garza, and Kurt Heinzelman for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this article. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Turkish to English are mine.

2 Ahmed Mithat Efendi's name is spelled differently in different sources due to differences in the transcriptions from Ottoman script to modern Turkish, which uses the Latin script. The variations of the spelling of his name include Ahmet Mithat, Ahmet Mithat Efendi, and Ahmed Mithat Efendi. I preferred to use Ahmed Mithat Efendi in this essay, following the usage of the 2003 edition of *Henüz On Yedi Yaşında*.

3 On the financial situation of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, see Şevket Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism, 1820–1913* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

4 On the perception of the decrees by the Muslim communities, see Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir*, ed. Cavid Baysun (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1986), 1:67–89.

4. Paşa, *Tezâkir* 3:236–37. Quoted and translated in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, "Introduction," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, vol. 1, *The Central Lands* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982), 1–34. Quote on 30.

5. See İlber Ortaylı on the discussion of the millet system, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Aile* (Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2006), 7–17.

6. Roderic Davison, "Nationalism as an Ottoman Problem and the Ottoman Response," in *Nationalism in a Non-National State: The Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. William W. Haddad and William Ochenwaid (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1977), 25–56.

7. İlber Ortaylı, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Millet," in *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 4:996–97.

8. Kemal Karpat, *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State: From Social Estates to Classes, from Millets to Nations*, Research Monograph no. 39 (Princeton: Princeton University, Center of International Studies, 1973), 7.

9. On the concept of *dihann*, see Lübnihal Bozkurt, *Gayrimusul Vatandaşların Hukukî Durumu (1839–1914)* (Ankara: Türk İlahî Kurumu, 1996).

10. Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720–1829," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997): 403–25.

11. Reşat Kasaba, "İzmir 1922: A Port City Unravels," in *Modernity and Culture From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, ed. Laila Tarazi Jawaz and C. A. Bayly, with the collaboration of Robert Ilbert (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 209.

12. Kemal Karpat, "Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, vol. 1, *The Central Lands* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982), 161–69. Quote on 141–42.

13. Ahmed Mithat Efendi, *Hemuz On Yedi Yayında* (Istanbul: Bordo Sivah Türk Klasikleri, 2003). First published as a serial in Ahmed Mithat's newspaper, *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*.

14. Ahmed Mithat's second wife was, in fact, also an ex-prostitute. Her name was Vasiliki, but after she converted to Islam she took a Turkish name, Hatize Melek. See Orhan Okay, *Batı Medeniyeti Karşısında Ahmed Mithat Efendi* (Ankara: Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1975), 184.

15. As is the case in many of his other novels, the hero, Ahmed Efendi, is a mouthpiece for Ahmed Mithat himself. Ahmed Mithat Efendi can be seen as the Charles Dickens of the Ottoman Empire with respect to not only the number and the variety of texts he produced but also in his attempt to capture the social ills in the empire. He was an extremely prolific writer who published in almost all contemporary genres. He wrote novels, short stories, plays, newspaper essays and editorials, and essays on history, economy, philosophy, and social issues. Overall, he published over two hundred works during his lifetime. On his life and work, see Okay, *Batı Medeniyeti*.

16. In the preface, Ahmed Mithat claims that the story he recounts in *Hemuz On Yedi Yayında* reflects the true events and life at Beyoğlu at the time. Here he emphasizes the point that the most important aspect of his novel is that it is "true" to

reality: that is, it reflects reality as it is. "I do not consider it necessary to take pride in relating to our readers a masterpiece in terms of organization and plot through the story *Henüz On Yedi Yaşında*. The excellence of this story lies in the correctness of the events related in the story. Those who will read this story, simply for pleasure will be entertained by the greatest pleasure in its truthfulness" (Önsöz).

17 Şemseddin Sâmî, *Kamus-ı Türkî*, rev. 12th ed. (1889 İstanbul Çağrı Yayınları, 2002). I would like to thank my Ottoman instructor, Murat Uluğtekin, for helping me to figure out the connections between *frenk* and *frenği*.

18 Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990), 15.

19 Georg Lukács, *The Theory of the Novel* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971).

20 Charles Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 46.

21 İnci Enginün and Zeynep Kerman state that the first Ottoman text that mentions Zola is in 1885. They cite the first translation date for *Nana* as 1327/1911. 12 İnci Enginün and Zeynep Kerman, "Türkçede Emile Zola Tercümeleeri ve Emile Zola Hakkında Yazılar Bibliyografyası (1885-1973)," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 22 (1977): 243-65.

22 Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute*, 213.

23 Susan Buck-Morss, "The Flâneur, the Sandwichman, and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering," *New German Critique* 39 (1986): 99-140.

24 See Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

25 See Beth Baron, "The Construction of National Honour in Egypt," *Gender and History* 5.2 (Summer 1993): 244-55; Afsaneh Najmabadi, "Zanña-yi millat: Women or Wives of the Nation," *Iranian Studies* 26.1/2 (Winter-Spring 1993): 51-71.

26 See, for instance, Deborah Epstein Nord, *Walking the Victorian Street* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), and Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delights: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992). The latter examines sexual narratives such as child prostitution, media representations of Jack the Ripper, and scientific theories of sexuality that circulated in London in the 1880s. See also Amanda Anderson, *Tainted Souls and Painted Faces: The Rhetoric of Fallenness in Victorian Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

27 There are several different words in Turkish that are still in use to convey the differences in such relationships between men and women. These include *dost*, which literally means "friend," but if it is used as in "*dost tutmak*," then it refers to a kept woman, *metres* more openly implies a woman supported by a man in exchange for exclusive sexual advantages; *kapatma* roughly corresponds to a kept woman. The most open and vulgar terms for a prostitute in Turkish are *fahişe* and *orospu*, which indisputably refer to prostitutes, mostly those working in brothels. In daily language prostitutes are mostly referred to as *hayat kadını*, the literal translation of which would be "woman of life," but can also be translated as the *femme du monde*.

28 In fact, *fahişe*, the common word for prostitute in Turkish, comes from the same root as *fahiş*, which comes from Arabic, referring to something "extremely expensive or pricey." In other words, the Turkish word clearly marks the financial aspect of prostitution. See, Şemseddin Sâmî, *Kamus-ı Türkî*.

29. Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, eds., *Woman-Nation-State* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), 7.

30. Deniz Kandiyoti, "Women and the Turkish State: Political Actors or Symbolic Pawns," in *Woman-Nation-State*, ed. Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989). Afsaneh Najmabadi, "The Erotic Vatan [Homeland] as Beloved and Mother: To Love, to Possess, and to Protect," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39.3 (July 1997): 442-67. Yuval-Davis and Anthias, *Woman-Nation-State*.

31. Reşat Ekrem Koçu, "Aksaray Kabadayıları, Kûlhanileri," in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: Koçu Yayınları, 1958), 536-37.

32. *Journal de Constantinople*, August 30, 1860. Cited in *The Politics of Dependency: Urban Reform in Istanbul*, ed. Steven T. Rosenthal (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980), 15.

33. *İkdam*, June 18, 1896. Cited in Roger Deal, "Violent Crime in Hamidian Istanbul, 1876-1909" (PhD diss., University of Utah, 2006), 96.

34. For details, see Deal, "Violent Crime."

35. Deal, "Violent Crime" 99-102.

36. Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1998), 1:31-36.

37. Rauf Mutluay, *100 Soruda XIX: Yüzyıl Türk Edebiyatı* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1970), 128. Translated and quoted in Robert Finn, *The Early Turkish Novel, 1872-1900* (İstanbul: İsis Press, 1984), 39.

38. On the Circassian slave trade, see Seteney Shami, "Prehistory of Globalization: Circassian Identity in Motion," *Public Culture* 21.1 (2000): 177-204.

39. For an earlier inspiring discussion of this and a few other early Turkish novels and their portrayal of women characters, see Deniz Kandiyoti, "Slave Girls, Temptresses, and Comrades: Images of Women in the Turkish Novel," *Feminist Issues* 8.1 (1988): 35-50.

40. The *RedHouse Turkish-English Dictionary* (1983) defines *alafranga* as "European style; in the Occidental way," and *alaturca* as "Turkish style; in the Turkish way."

41. Şerif Mardin, "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century," in *Turkey, Geographic and Social Perspectives*, ed. P. Benedict, E. Tümtürkün, and F. Mansur (Leiden: Brill, 1974).

42. For elite Ottomans, "Europe" and "European" most of the time referred to France and French culture, as they perceived it.

43. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *19uncu Asırda Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (İstanbul: Çağlayan Kitabevi, 1967), 131-33.

44. Mutluay, *100 Soruda* 57.

45. Edmondo De Amicis, *Constantinople*, trans. Stephen Parkin, foreword by Umberto Eco (London: Hesperus Classics, 2005), 41. First published in 1877.

46. Refik Ahmet Sevengil, *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 171-72.

47. Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, *Ma'rûzatı*, ed. Yusuf Halaçoğlu (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1980), 9-10.

48. Falih Rıfkı Atay, *Çankaya* (İstanbul: Dünya Yayınları, 1968), 407. Also, see Reşat Ekrem Koçu, "Açık Saçık Gezme Yasası," *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Tan Matbaası, 1958), 1:202-3.

49. Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 7.

50. Cited in Giovanni Scognamiglio, *Beyoğlu'nda Fuhuş* (İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar, 1994), 33.

51. Mutluay, 100 Soruda 133.

52. Sir Edwin Pears, *Turkey and Its People* (London: Methuen, 1911), 74. Cited in Duben and Behar, *Istanbul Households*, 203.

53. Ahmed Mithat Efendi, *Müşahadat* (İstanbul, 1979), 144. Quoted in and translated by Ahmet Evin, *Origins and Development of the Turkish Novel* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1983), 111.

54. Ahmet İhsan Tokgöz, *Matbuat Hatıratım*, Yayına Hazırlayan Alpay Kabacalı (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), 28.

55. Here it is important to note that while a non-Muslim male could not marry a Muslim female without converting to Islam, a Muslim man could marry a non-Muslim woman.

56. I borrow the phrase “heterogeneous public sphere” from Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delights* 80.

WORKS CITED

Ahmed Mithat Efendi. *Henüz On Yedi Yaşında*. İstanbul: Bordo Siyah Türk Klasikleri, 2003.

———. *Müşahadat*. İstanbul, 1979.

Ahmet Cevdet Paşa. *Ma'ruzat*. Haz. Yusuf Halaçoğlu. İstanbul: Çağın Yayınları, 1980.

———. *Tezakir*. 12 vols., edited by Cavid Baysun. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1986.

Anderson, Amanda. *Tainted Souls and Painted Faces: The Rhetoric of Fallenness in Victorian Culture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.

Atay, Falih Rıfkı. *Çankaya*. İstanbul: Dünya Yayınları, 1968.

Baron, Beth. “The Construction of National Honour in Egypt.” *Gender and History* 5.2 (Summer 1993): 244–55.

Bernheimer, Charles. *Figures of Ill Repute*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989.

Bozkurt, Gülnihal. *Gayrimüslim Vatandaşların Hukuki Durumu (1839–1914)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1996.

Braude, Benjamin, and Bernard Lewis. “Introduction.” In *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis. Vol. 1. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982. 141–69.

Buck-Morss, Susan. “The Flâneur, the Sandwichman, and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering.” *New German Critique* 39 (1986): 99–140.

Davison, Roderic. “Nationalism as an Ottoman Problem and the Ottoman Response.” In *Nationalism in a Non-National State: The Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. William W. Haddad and William Ochsenwald. Columbus: Ohio State University, 1977. 25–56.

Deal, Roger. “Violent Crime in Hamidian İstanbul, 1876–1909.” PhD diss., University of Utah, 2006.

- De Amicis, Edmondo. *Constantinople*. 1877. Trans. Stephen Parkin, foreword by Umberto Eco. London: Hesperus Classics, 2005.
- Duben, Alan, and Cem Behar. *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880–1940*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Enginün, İnci, and Zeynep Kerman. "Türkçede Emile Zola Tercümeleri ve Emile Zola Hakkında Yazılar Bibliyografyası (1885–1973)." *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 22 (1977): 243–65.
- Evri, Ahmet Ö. *Origins and Development of the Turkish Novel*. Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1983.
- Fatma Aliye. *Refet*. İstanbul: Kırk Ambar Matbaası, 1314/1899.
- Finn, Robert. *The Early Turkish Novel, 1872–1900*. İstanbul: Isis Press, 1984.
- Gürpınar, Hüseyin Rahmi. *Şık*. 1889. İstanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, 1968.
- Hunt, Lynn. *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Kandiyoti, Deniz. "Slave Girls, Tempresses, and Comrades: Images of Women in the Turkish Novel." *Feminist Issues* 8.1 (1988): 35–50.
- . "Women and the Turkish State: Political Actors or Symbolic Pawns." In *Woman-Nation-State*, ed. Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989. 126–49.
- Karpat, Kemal. *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State: From Social Estates to Classes, from Millets to Nations*. Research Monograph no. 39. Princeton: Princeton University, Center of International Studies, 1973.
- . "Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era." In *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis. Vol. 1, *The Central Lands* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982). 141–69.
- Kasaba, Reşat. "İzmir 1922: A Port City Unravels." In *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, ed. Leila Tarazi Fawaz and C. A. Bayly with the collaboration of Robert Ilbert. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002. 204–29.
- Koçu, Reşat Ekrem. "Açık Saçık Gezme Yasağı." In *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*. Vol. 1. İstanbul: Tan Matbaası, 1958. 202–4.
- . "Aksaray Kabadayıları, Külhanileri." In *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*. Vol. 1. İstanbul: Tan Matbaası, 1958. 536–37.
- Lukács, Georg. *The Theory of the Novel*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971.
- Mardin, Şerif. "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century." In *Turkey, Geographic and Social Perspectives*, ed. P. Benedict, E. Tümtürkün, and F. Mansur. Leiden: Brill, 1974. 403–46.
- Moran, Berna. *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış*. Vol. 1. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1998.
- Mutluay, Rauf. *100 Soruda XIX: Yüzyıl Türk Edebiyatı*. İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1970.
- Najmabadi, Afsaneh. "The Erotic Vatan [Homeland] as Beloved and Mother: To Love, to Possess, and to Protect." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39.3 (July 1997): 442–67.
- . "Zanha-yi millat: Women or Wives of the Nation." *Iranian Studies* 26.1–2 (Winter/Spring 1993): 51–71.

- Namık Kemal. *İntibah (Ali Bey'in Sergüzeşti)*. 1876. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1984.
- Nord, Deborah Epstein. *Walking the Victorian Streets*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Okay, Orhan. *Batı Medeniyeti Karşısında Ahmed Mithat Efendi*. Ankara: Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1975.
- Ortaylı, İlber. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Millet." In *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*. Vol. 4. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985. 996-1001.
- . *Osmanlı Toplumunda Aile*. İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2006.
- Pamuk, Şevket. *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism, 1820-1913*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Parla, Jale. *Babalar ve Oğullar*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990.
- Pateman, Carole. *The Sexual Contract*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.
- Pears, Sir Edwin. *Turkey and Its People*. London: Methuen, 1911.
- Quataert, Donald. "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997): 403-25.
- Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem. *Araba Sevdası*. 1895. İstanbul: İnkilap Kitabevi, 1985.
- RedHouse Turkish-English Dictionary*. İstanbul: Elif Ofset, 1983.
- Rosenthal, Steven T., ed. *The Politics of Dependency: Urban Reform in Istanbul*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980.
- Scognamillo, Giovanni. *Beyoğlu'nda Fuhuş*. İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar, 1994.
- Şemseddin Sami. *Kamus-i Türkî*. Rev. 12th ed. 1889. İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 2002.
- Sevengil, Refik Ahmet. *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985.
- Shami, Seteney. "Prehistory of Globalization: Circassian Identity in Motion." *Public Culture* 21.1 (2000): 177-204.
- Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *19uncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*. İstanbul: Çağlayan Kitabevi, 1967.
- Tokgöz, Ahmet İhsan. *Matbuat Hatıratım, Yayına Hazırlayan Alpay Kabacalı*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993.
- Walkowitz, Judith R. *City of Dreadful Delights: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira, and Floya Anthias, eds. *Women-Nation-State*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989.